Western Carolinian.

It is even wise to abstain from laws, which however wise and good in themselves, have the semblance of inequality which find no response in the heart of the citizen, and which will be evaded with little remorse. The wisdom of legislation is especially seen in grafting laws on conscience.

Dr. Channing.

[BY JOHN BEARD, Jr.] SALISBURY, ROWAN COUNTY, N. C., MONDAY JULY 30, 1832. [VOL. XIV.....NO. 68

TERMS

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AN EXPOSITION
of the Virginia Resolutions of 1798.
[CONCLUDED.]

TO THOMAS RITCHIE, ESQ.
No. V.

You will be pleased to bear in mind, Sir, that I have endeavored, in my preceding letters, simply to prove, that the doctrine of nullification is fully warranted by the Virginia resolutions of 1798. If I have succeeded in this, I have at least shown that it is not so manifest a departure from those resolutions, as to warrant the denunciation which it has received, from the pro-State friends of State Rights. Still less reason is there, for branding a whole State with treason, for adopting it. And here, Sir, permit me to remark *that nullification is not a distinct and substantive principle in itself, but merely a mode in which constitutional principles are carried out in practice.* It is absolutely necessary to keep this distinction in mind. The only principle involved in nullification, is the right of a State to decide whether an act of Congress is a breach of the compact or not; and if it shall decide that it is a breach of the compact, then to arrest the operation of the act within the limits of the State, for "arresting the progress of Government within the Constitution." No one, I think, can deny the correctness of this principle. Nullification professes to conform to it, whilst secession obviously disclaims it; because secession necessarily breaks the Union.—You will at once perceive, then, that there are a countless number of modes in which the principles of nullification may be carried out, and it by no means follows that the doctrine itself is false, because it may be abused in practice. Let us, then, forget, for the present, South Carolina and all her proceedings, and test the correctness of nullification by a hypothetical case.—Suppose that the present Congress should declare, by law, that the slave holding States shall no longer be entitled to representation in that body, for three-fifths of their slaves. The case is at least possible, be assured, and it would be so 'palpable and dangerous" an assumption of power, as to call loudly for the most effective mode of "State interposition," warranted by the Virginia resolutions. How would you have us proceed? Would you appeal to the Federal Judiciary to say whether such a law was constitutional or not? I cannot perceive how it is possible to bring the case before them; and even if it could be brought there, it would be at least a year before it could be decided. In the mean time, Virginia would be *deprived of about one sixth part of her proper representation, and would continue to be so deprived until the Supreme Court might choose to take up the case.* She would thus be thrown on the mercy of that tribunal, for one of her clearest and most important rights. Besides, this would assuredly be directly in the teeth of Madison's Report, which reprobates the idea that the Supreme Court has any rightful power over such a question. Would you appeal to Congress to repeal the law? This Congress ceases to exist on the 4th of March, and our elections take place in April. There might not, then, be any Congress in session, to whom the appeal could be made; and even if there were, what hope could you have that the same men who showed themselves capable of such a palpable usurpation, would immediately disavow it? Besides, this would be recognizing the right of Congress to decide on the extent of its own powers, which is clearly against Madisons resolutions. But suppose that the appeal should be actually made, and that Congress should refuse to repeal the law—would you submit? The President's doctrines would force you to do so. Yet I cannot think that you would agree to such doctrines in a case involving the rights of your own State, although you advocate them in the case of South Carolina. No Sir, you would not submit. Then, what would you do? Would you agree to suspend the exercise of the essential right of representation until you had tried the slow process of an appeal to the other States, in their separate characters? You would be ashamed to countenance such a poor spirited surrender of the right of self-protection.—Would you resort to arms? Upon whom would you make war? Upon Congress alone, or upon all the other States? Not upon Congress the actual wrong doers, for that would be ridiculous—not upon the other States, because they might not sanction the usurpation of the Federal agent, and therefore might not be guilty of any intentional wrong. Would you *secede*? And if you did, *how would that redress the wrong, and restore you to your rights?* Besides, Sir, there would be in secession a *positive injustice to the other States.*—Each State is entitled to all the benefit which it can derive from the Union of all, and of course the withdrawal of any one State deprives the other States of all the benefit which they would derive from the presence of such State in the Union.—There is no doubt of the right of a State to withdraw. and we shall presently see when and how that right may be exerted. But for a State to resort to secession, as a primary means for redressing a wrong, done by the usurpations of the other States, not only defeats its own object, but does injustice to the other States. Moreover, it *ipso facto breaks the Union*, and, therefore, is clearly, as I have before shown, not within the letter or spirit of the Virginia resolutions. You would not adopt any of these modes and I will now show you how you would proceed. You would begin by declaring the law unconstitutional, &, therefore, not obligatory. In other words, Sir, you would nullify the law. Of course, you would stand precisely as you did before the law was passed, and, therefore, you would not consider yourself as *out of the Union*, merely by this act of usurpation on the part of the Federal Government. You would proceed to elect your Representatives in Congress as heretofore, and direct them to take their seats in that body. If they were allowed to do so, the law would be thus virtually repealed, and all the wrong redressed. If they were not allowed to do so, you would still feel under no obligation to surrender your share in the Union; but you would appeal to the other States to say whether they would sanction the usurpation on the part of their common agent or not. If the other States should refuse to sanction the usurpation, you would be thus restored to your rights.—Otherwise you would determine for yourself, whether you would remain in the Union, with the loss of part of your rights, or go out of the Union altogether. Now, Sir, all these primary steps are, as you must in candor admit, precisely and strictly nullification; but they are nullification on a proper occasion, and asserted in a proper mode. There is not a State rights man on earth, who can object to it thus applied, and applied to such a case; and of course, as a doctrine, it is not wrong. Nullification and secession are both rights; and the difference between them is simply this: nullification proposes to preserve the Constitution, by annulling every act of the Federal Government, which the Constitution does not authorise: it proposes *to preserve the Union, by annulling those usurpations in some mode which shall not withdraw the State from the Union, nor embarrass the regular action of the Government within the Constitution.* Secession withdraws the State out of the reach of the usurper! powers, when all other means of redress have failed. Nullification, therefore, is the primary right and the primary duty of the State; secession is the ultimate right, when nullification has failed.

This, Sir, is nullification, as I understand it, and as it is undoubtedly contemplated in the Resolutions of 1798. I should be glad to know what objections you can urge against it. Permit me, now, to examine its practical results, & to compare them with those of the opposite doctrine, as contended for by the President.

It is perfectly true, as the President contends, that if a State may declare *one* law to be unconstitutional, it may declare any and every *other* law to be so! and by the same rule, each State may, in the exercise of the same right, select a particular law or laws as unconstitutional, and thus utterly destroy the uniform operation of the system. But while this is certainly *possible*, it is in no degree *probable*, and cannot possibly occur, except in such a state of public feeling, in regard to the Union, as would, at all events, dissolve it by other means. If the States no longer wish to remain in the Union, they will of course separate. But if they are really desirous to *preserve* the Union, *their own interest* affords a sufficient pledge that they will not endanger it, by throwing themselves upon their reserved rights, except in extreme cases, which require it. If one State, or two States, should be mad enough to do so, it cannot be imagined that such a number of them will do so as to afford any ground for the President's fears, or any application for the argument which he derives from them. The Government of the United States is the mere agent of the States, for specified purposes, and it is inconceivable that the States who appointed that agent, for their own use and advantage, would, without cause, so embarrass its action, as to render its agency of no value. In practice, therefore, this argument of the President is not entitled to any consideration. And even if it were otherwise, is it more consistent with principle, that the agent should control the constituent, or that the constituent, should control the agent? These views of the subject, however, are worth nothing.—We cannot judge for the practical operation of the Government, by any such extreme case,—Human sagacity cannot foresee, nor human prudence provide for, all, possible contingencies;—nor can human language define and limit every possible modification of social rights. Although Governments are primarily founded in distrust, yet there is, of necessity some degree of confidence in all of them. The wisest statesmen can do no more than repose that confidence in the safest hands, while at the same time he surrounds it with all practical guards against abuse. If the States may abuse their reserved rights in the manner contemplated by the President, the Federal Government, on the other hand, may abuse its *delegated* rights. There is danger from *both* sides, and as we are compelled to confide in the one or the other, we have only to inquire which is most worthy of our confidence. In the first place, as I have already remarked, the States cannot have *any interest* to abuse their reserved rights. Besides, the right for which they contend, is not a *right of action* at all, but merely a right to *check unauthorized action* in the other party. The *abuse* of this right can be found in nothing but the interposition of the State to check its own agent, in doing what it expressly authorized its own agent to do, for its own advantage. The right itself is indispensable to self preservation, while the abuse of it is not to be contemplated as sufficiently probable, to found any argument against the right itself. On the other hand, the Federal Government has a direct interest to enlarge its own powers, by encroaching on the rights of the States. The constituent can rarely, if ever, have an interest in contracting the powers of his agent, but, *prima facie*, the agent always has an interest in making them greater. And when we reflect on the strong love which most men feel for patronage and power, the influence of this interest upon the *mere men* who wield the Federal Government, (and who, as to this argument, must be identified with it,) affords much cause for distrust and fear. It is, therefore, much more probable that the Federal Government will abuse its power, than that the States will abuse their reserved rights. Indeed, it will not be difficult to decide which is the greater evil. If a State should abuse its rights of interposition, by arresting the operation of a *constitutional* law, the worst that could come of it, would be to suspend the operation of the law for a time, as to that State, while it would have all its effects within the other States. This would certainly be unjust, but, in most cases, would be attended with very little practical evil. In some cases, it is true, the consequences might be serious; such, for instance, as might arise in a time of war; but it is precisely in such cases that the State would have the least motive for coming into collision with her sister States.—Besides, according to the doctrine for which I am contending, this evil would be temporary only; it must cease, in some way or other, as soon as the other States act upon the subject. I acknowledge, however, that it is at best an evil, but it is an evil inseparable from our system, and one which cannot be avoided except by submitting to a *greater* evil.—It is perfectly evident that this right must exist in the States, unless it be incompatible with the rights of the Federal Government. Supposing this incompatibility to exist, there must be a right in that Government to control the States in this respect, and to enforce a law which the States may have pronounced to be unconstitutional.—Let us now suppose an *abuse* of this right. It would consist in an attempt, by the Federal Government, to coerce obedience to an *unconstitutional* law. This, Sir, it seems to me, is *despotism in its very essence.* If the Federal Government may enforce *one* unconstitutional law, it may enforce *every* unconstitutional law, and thus all the rights of the States and the people may fall, one by one, before the omnipotence of that Government. This consequence is too manifest to escape even the most superficial observation. The worst possible result of nullification, even in the opinion of its bitterest opponents, is to dissolve the Union—and this result does not legitimately flow from it; while the alternative which they propose, establishes an absolute despotism, which not only *dissolves the Union, but establishes the worst possible form of Government upon its ruins.*—Thus it appears that nullification is much less apt to be abused, than the alternative remedy, and when abused, its consequences are infinitely less to be deprecated.—Of the two evils, I choose the least. I prefer the remedy which, although in its extreme abuse it may lead to disunion, may be peaceful in its results, to one which necessarily dissolves the Union, and whose direct object and tendency are to *violence and blood, and absolute power.*

And now, Sir, you have a full view of nullification, as I understand it. As I sincerely desire to be right in politics, as well as in morals and religion, I submit myself, with all deference, to the correction of your greater wisdom. At all events, you ought to relieve your own principles from the cloud which now hangs over them, and renders them somewhat obscure to the general vision. In my next letter, I shall say something to you in reference to South Carolina.

No. VI.

You have been, Sir, exceedingly unsparing in your denunciation of nullification, but I do not recollect that you have ever offered a single argument against it. You have, indeed, abused Mr. Calhoun, until even his worst enemies are ready to take sides with him, from mere sympathy with the persecuted and oppressed. That such a man should be borne down before an intelligent people, by a man of Andrew Jackson's pretensions, is a moral anomaly, worthy the especial notice of the future historian. You appear to have thought, that it was enough to destroy John C. Calhoun, and nullification must fall of course. This is a mistake. The doctrine did not originate with him, does not depend on him for its support, and will not die with the death of his influence. You may, therefore, spare him, without fear that such a tribute to decency will effect nullification either one way or the other. It would certainly have been much more worthy of your standing among our public journals, if you had attempted to enlighten our understandings, instead of appealing to our partizan feelings. The huzzas of man worship are alike degrading to the press and insulting to its supporters. Instead of proving that nullification is wrong, you have wisely, perhaps but not generously, it is certain, contented yourself with efforts to prove that the nullifiers are wrong. This was beyond all doubt much the easier task of the two, but, unfortunately, the mass of your readers have not so understood you. Your paragraphs have been so contrived as to be generally received as an utter denunciation of South Carolina, and her whole doctrines and proceedings together, at the same time that their strict letter will allow you to say hereafter, that your reproaches were meant. not for the doctrine, but only for the particular mode of asserting it. It always gives me pain to see an influential public journal dealing with its readers in this uncandid way. Whenever the press yields itself wholly to party, it becomes, instead of a blessing, the worst possible curse, to a free country. Whenever the liberties of this country shall be overturned, a corrupt and hireling press will be the chief agent in the mischief. This, however, is a digression, and it will certainly make no impression upon you. I was going to say, that while the principles upon which South Carolina has proceeded are undeniably right, I agree with you, that she has fallen into some very great errors, in her course of proceeding. On one point, I will agree with the President of the United States, an approximation to error at which I cannot but feel uneasy. I think that the tariff laws, although clearly against the spirit of the Constitution, by the gross inequality of their burthens, are yet not so "palpably" unconstitutional as to call for nullification, nor so "dangerous" as to demand secession, until every hope shall be lost, that Congress will modify them. I, therefore, may well censure South Carolina in this respect, but you cannot; for you profess to consider those laws altogether and unequivocally unconstitutional. I think also that South Carolina appointed too early a day for the operation of her ordinance. I think, also, that some of her enactments for enforcing that ordinance are too rigorous, and probably are themselves unconstitutional. And I have another objection which I have not yet seen stated in any newspaper. The principles upon which nullification proceeds, demand that the nullifying State shall refer her decision to conventions of the other States—and that she shall give way, if such Conventions overrule her. In every case, therefore, which will admit of it, she ought to take care that the other States sustain no injury from the suspension of the law by her, in case her decision should be overruled. In the present case, the injury would consist in the loss of duties, and, therefore, South Carolina should merely have *suspended* the payment of duties, and should have guaranteed the ultimate payment of every cent of them, in case the other States—and a bare majority ought to be sufficient—should decide the tariff laws to be constitutional, and should thereupon determine not to secede. In all these respects, and perhaps in others, South Carolina appears to me to have acted unadvisedly. Suppose, however, that she had avoided all these errors, would it not have been nullification still? And with what could you then have reproached her? Suppose, that, instead of the tariff laws, she had nullified a law *declaring all her slaves to be free?*—Would you not have commended her extraordinary moderation, and her scrupulous respect for her co-States, in submitting to them the question of the constitutionality of such a law, involving directly the highest of her rights? You certainly would; Sir; and wherein, then, consists the difference? Simply, Mr. Ritchie, in the *application* of the doctrine, and not in the doctrine. Hereafter, Sir, when you denounce nullification, you should say, in unequivocal terms, that it is not nullification in itself, but *South Carolina nullification*, which you mean to condemn. You may then, come back (as come back you must, and shortly, too,) to the true doctrines of the Constitution, with a better grace.

And now, Sir, as South Carolina is undeniably right in her principles, and merely wrong in some of the measures by which she has endeavoured to assert them, does she for this deserve the sword or not? I have heard the lawyers say, that you do not forfeit your claim in a court of justice by suffering a non-suit for bringing your action wrong; and I imagine that this would be equally true, if the non suit subjected your adversary to be costs. It is perfectly clear that you cannot coerce South Carolina, without placing the authority of Congress above that of the States, in deciding on the extent of the powers of *Congress itself*; and, of course, you thus destroy the right of the State altogether. This seems to me to be altogether too high a forfeiture to be incurred for a mere error in the forms of asserting a right. And besides, Sir, do you perceive no danger to the Constitution in the extraordinary powers which you are asking Congress to confer upon the President? It is not enough to say that these powers are only to be exerted *contingently*—since the bill now before Congress leaves it to the President himself to determine when the contingency may arise. Is there no danger that, if it should not arise in the ordinary course of events, he will *make it for himself?* Nothing is easier than to do this, and thus you put the whole matter at his discretion. I know how unbounded your confidence in the President is; but you ought to recollect that this very confidence is the principle upon which *dictators* are made. You cannot but know that if blood is shed by the Federal arm in South Carolina, this Union is dissolved, and a general civil war will be the result. Is there any degree of confidence which can justify the submission of such an issue to the discretion of any one man? Do not tell me that if the President abuses the trust reposed in him he is amenable to punishment. Will an impeachment of Andrew Jackson restore the Union—bring back to the Union the blood which he has shed, and bring the dead to life? The same argument would prove that he ought to be clothed with any power, restrained by PARTY REQUIREMENT but by such check as for the public good. It is not in this way that a vigilant guardian of public liberty ought to act. There is too much reason to fear that the confidence which confers such a power, may easily be brought to sanction an abuse of it. For my part, I consider it infinitely better that South Carolina should nullify any law in the code, than to trust any man's discretion with the issue of union and peace, on the one hand, and disunion and civil war on the other. Moreover, Sir, do you not consider it as utterly opposed to all correct notions of constitutional law, that the Federal Government should make war upon the *citizens* of a State for an act done by that State in its sovereign character? I am sure that nothing can be found in the columns of the Enquirer, before it embraced the cause of Andrew Jackson, to countenance such an idea as this. What has changed you Mr. Ritchie? Perhaps you have changed because Andrew Jackson himself has changed. This would not be at all surprising in you, Sir, since the whole commonwealth (*prok pudor!*) appears to have been revolutionized in a single hour for the same reason. Let us, however, in order that we may know hereafter how inconsistently it is possible for a man to act, without forfeiting his character, see what this same General Jackson has said on a former occasion. In his "talk" to the Indian delegation from Georgia, in 1829, he holds this language: "The sword of the United States might be looked to as the arbiter, &c. But this can never be done. The President cannot and will not beguile you with such an expectation. *The arms of this Government can never be employed to stay any State of the Union from the exercise of those legitimate powers which belong to her sovereign character.*" This is truly republican—and what a pity it is that he did not adhere to it! Surely, the right to declare that an unconstitutional act of Congress *really is so*, is acknowledged by you to be a "legitimate power" belonging to every State "as her sovereign character," and this is the power which South Carolina has exerted. Do you think, then, that the President can consistently "employ the arms of this Government to stay her?" The case in 1829 involves the rights of Georgia—that in 1832 involves the rights of South Carolina. This is the only difference, be assured. Do you recollect, Mr. Ritchie, what a clamor of denunciation you raised against Mr. Adams *for threatening*—and he only *hinted* at it, too—to enforce the authority of the Federal Government against Georgia? Do you remember how strongly you then denounced the idea of making war on a sovereign State of this Union? Georgia has been in the regular habit of "bullying the Union"—that is the phrase at present—from that time to this, and you have neither disapproved of her course, nor has General Jackson threatened her with the rod. A fact so glaring as this cannot fail, sooner or later, to make its due impression upon the public mind, to the everlasting shame of General Jackson and his press.

These letters, Sir, have already been extended much beyond what I originally proposed, as their utmost limit. They have been very hastily written, never revised, and are altogether unpretending in their character. They have been designed merely to revive in the minds of those who may read them, the almost forgotten principles of 1798, and to call public attention to the absolute and total overthrow of those principles, which is already well nigh effected by General Jackson. Of course, like other newspaper paragraphs upon the same subject, they will be forgotten with the hour. This is exactly the fate which I wish them to experience if they can make the desired impression as they are read. I shall now conclude them, with another view of the subject before us, which is certainly worthy of your consideration.

South Carolina is a southern State, having the same interest with ourselves in all respects; and for ten years she has been our best help in this very tariff contest. Is it not shameful in us to desert her now, in her utmost need? And besides, is it not our obvious *interest* to sustain her, particularly in the present position of the tariff and anti-tariff parties? You know perfectly well, that more than half the tariff delegation came to Washington in December, prepared to reduce the system to the revenue standard; and you also know that *they changed their purpose as soon as the proclamation was issued.* They saw that the President, although he professed a desire to modify those laws, would, nevertheless, *enforce them by the power of they were not repealed.* What better encouragement can they want, to persevere in their system? Nay, what better encouragement can they have, for enforcing any other law, which a majority of the people of the U. States may find it to their interest to pass? The northern interest already possesses that majority, and is in no danger of losing it. Is it not, then, our obvious interest to pursue such a course as will strengthen, instead of breaking, that bond which now binds the southern States together? What shall we gain by driving South Carolina out of the Union, or by weakening her influence while she remains? She must be led to submit [illegible] oppressed; by every consideration of generosity, because she is the weaker party; by every consideration of prudence and wisdom, because we must stand or fall along with her.

I can scarcely permit myself, Sir, to ask you what we ought to think of the part which Gen. Jackson is acting in this eventful drama? He knows that any modification of the tariff laws, will, of itself, whether it raise or reduce the duties, defeat all measures of South Carolina at once.—The Ordinance relates only to the existing laws, and cannot apply to any other laws. He knows this, and he also knows that *public opinion can cause those laws to be modified in four and twenty hours.* What motive is there then—what reason can there be for this alarming and perilous recourse to force? He stands before the people of this country as a President of the United States, making war upon the people, without necessity; as a southern man, strengthening the arm of northern power, against southern interests; as a foe of South Carolina, turning his wrath against his native State, and encouraging a civil war among her people, for the gratification of a false pride, or a vindictive feeling! History does not present a worse picture of the worst forms of human character. You, Mr. Ritchie, have long ago said that his election would be "a curse upon our country." I know not, Sir, how you will better soften the reproaches which attach to your manifest tergiversation and inconsistency, than by throwing yourself upon your reputation as a true prophet. LOCKE.

From the Raleigh Register.

ON OUR STATE CONSTITUTION.
NO. VII.

"All political power is vested in and derived from the people only."
Bill of Rights.

To the Editors:

I propose now, to meet the objections which have been urged against a change of our Representation, and if they do not turn out to be pretexts, I am greatly deceived in their character and in the facts on which they are attempted to be founded. In order that I may avoid the imputation of personal disrespect to the individuals who have adopted these objections, I request you to allow me to state them—what reasons

divisions, and I cannot refuse to meet it upon their own ground without a tacit admission of my inability to do so. Unfortunately, we all know the meaning of "the East" and "the West," and therefore I may proceed directly to consider of these objections without stopping to define the signification of *terms*.

1. It is said that "the Eastern portion of the State pays more of the aggregate taxes of the State than the West." (I quote the words of objectors.)

It is stated by Mr. ——, in the debates referred to—"This is a struggle between the *East* and the *West* for political power." "The *West* say they have *right* on their side, but here again we are at issue."—"Let us examine the claim of the *West* on principle." The speaker then correctly maintains, that *property* or *taxes* ought to be regarded in the apportionment of representation, as well as *population*—when he proceeds thus: "The difference in white population is upwards of 60,000 in favor of the *West!*"—and from the Report of the Comptroller it appears that the amount of *taxes* paid by the *East*, exceeds the amount paid by the *West*, upwards of 90,000"!!! I extract the words of only one of the debaters, but they contain the substance of what all of them insisted upon; as the great objection to a change of the Constitution. I do not stop to prove that the debater has made the difference in population too small by 28,000—nor to demonstrate, that he has put the difference in taxes too high! I take the calculations as *correct*, for such I have no doubt they were intended to be. *I admit the facts as stated to be true*, and will now meet the issue that was joined. Remember that the East elects 106 members to the Assembly—the West only 84, (excluding Borough members, of which the East elects a majority.) The *West* therefore, with an *admitted excess of white population*, equal to 60,000, elects 20 members *less* than the *East*; and they who represent this minority, declare that it is their right to do it because they pay 6,000 dollars more taxes! This statement of facts is an argument against this objection. Is the sum of 6,000 dollars a fair price for the *right of equal representation* to 60,000 people? May gentlemen in the councils of this State *gravely* estimate this *right* of the people at *one shilling* a head? Nay, they put it at a less price, for let it not be forgotten that this is not a majority of 60,000, *equally* represented with a minority, but this *majority* are represented by 84—while this *minority* elects 106. The white population of the State is 472,000. That of the East being assumed according to the argument, at 60,000 *less than the West*, we shall make the white population of the *East* about 206,000; and since they elect 106 members, therefore each member represents about 1,900 *whites*. Taking each of the *Western* members to be also elected by 1,900 whites, then they have a surplus of more than 100,000 whites *unrepresented?* To pay them for this, the East 'tis said, contribute 6,000 dollars more of the taxes.—Why, this is but 6 cents a head for the birth right of these 100,000 people!

But the extravagance and absurdity of this objection is still further exposed by the plain and undeniable fact, that altho' the East do pay more than the West in taxes, still the Eastern Counties of the State do not pay *their own expenses* as part of the Government. If they do pay 6,000 dollars of taxes more than the West, they cost the Treasury 210,000 more than the West. How then, can this objection be regarded by candid men as a substantial one? The "mess of pottage" which is held forth as the purchase money of the rights of a majority of the *people*, is not even paid to them. If our fathers had held their rights as cheap as some among us would seem to value them, *England* might very easily have purchased up the allegiance of her Colonies.

2. But then it is alleged that "if the representation is altered, the poll tax on *Slaves* might be made oppressive." This has been urged in every form that promised to excite the fears and arouse the jealousy of the slave owners of the State. I confess that (before I had resolved to take nothing upon trust in this investigation) I always supposed that this objection had enough in it to awaken the vigilance of the slave owner, to provide against the *possibility* of such oppression. I still think it should be guarded against, but *permit me to tell you that the danger exists now, and that the proposal to reform the Constitution is in truth a proposition to secure us against its recurrence*. I know it will startle many who read this assertion, but it is most true that the counties whose *interest* it is to confine the poll tax to *slaves* have *now* a majority in the Assembly—but if the Constitution is altered in the manner that has been proposed, the *principle slave holding counties will elect this majority!* The truth is, that *slaves* are property, and property generally follows *population*. Here is proof of it to any fair mind! The slave population of North Carolina is 246,000. Of these slaves (*93,000! only—are owned by the 43 counties which contain *one third* of the white population, and pay *one third* of the taxes and elect a majority of the Assembly. Yet the other 31 counties who pay two thirds of the taxes, and contain two thirds of the *white population*, own also nearly two thirds of the slaves, viz. 153,000. The 43 counties which do not pay their expenses to the Government, elect two thirds of the Assembly, and do not own one half the *slaves*. The 21 counties of the State which only pay their own expenses in taxes, (as before shewn) do own more than half of the slaves, viz. 127,000. Now, what is there to protect these 21 counties from an "oppressive tax" on slaves? I answer with confidence, that there is no other perfect protection but that which is offered us in a Reform of the Constitution, viz: 1st. By an article of the amended Constitution, to *prohibit* inequality of white and black poll taxes.—2d. By the new system of representation, the principal *slave owning counties* will be transferred from a *minority* to a *majority*.—There is, it seems to me, some infatuation about this subject. A proposition is made to reform the Constitution in such way as to give the Government into the hands of a majority of the People—but many of these counties whose people are most deeply concerned to advance it, are prevailed on to withhold their consent. It is demanded to reform the Constitution, so as to equalize taxes and to diminish the public expenses, and yet many of the *tax paying counties* refuse to co-operate. It is asked to reform it, so as to take the principal slave owning counties out of the power of those whose interest it is to impose "unequal and oppressive slave taxes," yet those slave owners decline to give their assent, and even pretend to justify resistance upon the mistaken belief that a change of the Constitution will endanger their *peculiar rights*. An honest search after truth must satisfy the mind of the most incredulous among us, that all these things are true.

3. But then it is alleged, that our Constitution is "the work of our fathers and we owe it too much veneration to justify us in altering it." This has furnished a theme for declamation, I believe, to every variety of Orator who was lifted his voice against *Reform*. But the freemen of this State are not children, to be satisfied with mere speciousness. I have shown under what circumstances our fathers established the present Constitution, and with what alacrity they availed themselves of the first opportunity after peace to urge its amendment and to vote for it. I remind you that no one is seeking to destroy the fundamental *principles* which our fathers established, but rather to make our State government conform to them. I need not tell you how urgently, and yet how vainly this doctrine was pressed on *our* fathers, when they had set about reforming the work of *their* fathers—that our fathers dared even the dangers of *Revolution* and *Civil war* to place their liberty and the rights of the people on a firmer basis than that upon which *their* fathers had vested it. I might go on to prove that the American people in the other States are not less bound to venerate their fathers, nor have they been less sensible of the obligation than we are, whilst no such vain pretext has been available to prevent them from changing their old Constitutions, which we reformed about the period of the Revolution. I might go further, and remind such devotees that to venerate the *principles* of our fathers is to shew them real homage. To respect the Rights of all alike, to do justice to all sections and to establish equality—to bury party feuds, and to unite as one family, would be more grateful offerings to the 'manes' of departed patriots, than this disingenuous array of their honored names to prop a cause which has no solid ground to sustain it. But if I must bring it to that test, then let us see whether this feeling in memory of the men of other days, has cast a hallowed sanctity about other subjects. It is written in this Constitution—this "Legacy of our fathers," "§41. That a school or schools shall be *established by the Legislature*, for the convenient instruction of youth, with *such salaries* to the masters, to be paid by the *public*, as may enable them to instruct at *low prices*; and all useful learning shall be *duly encouraged* and *promoted* in one or more *Universities*."

Now, I ask, when the only University in the State was threatened with Bankruptcy on account of delay in the receipt of their funds, did not the General Assembly refuse to make them a *loan*—a well secured *loan*, UNLESS the Trustees of that Institution would first consent to give up the College that had been reared by private bounty to their caprice? I ask, if after a Legislature of our fathers in 1789 had vested in a University all *Escheats*, their sons in a Legislature of 1800 did not attempt to repeal the donation; and if the Trustees of that Institution did not find it necessary to resort to the *Courts* for protection? Where was then this boasted veneration for our fathers? Can you vouch for finding the brethren of the East united in opposing these attempts to do dishonor to our fathers? I am afraid not! This "venerated character" has now existed more than half a century, and I solemnly enquire what has been done towards the *establishment* of Schools by the *Legislature*, &c. with *salaries*, &c. paid by the *public*, &c." Let no man's *party* call on me to venerate with such blind homage this work of my fathers' unless they can show that they have done obedience to this command of the departed. Have any steps been taken towards the establishment of schools? Not one until 1825. And though the 'Literary Fund' has increased to near one hundred thousand dollars, the very body of men who profess to regulate themselves on the question of reform by a respect to the memory of our fathers, failed to invest that fund in order that it might accumulate—because it was needed to *pay their wages!* This pretence, therefore, is worse than idle. Shall men, free men too, be told in this century, that their rights are denied them and justice is withheld because it was done by our *fathers?* You shall be oppressed forever, because you have been oppressed for 20 years? I appeal to your candour to answer, is this a reason or is it not pretext? Shall we despise the *principles* of our fathers, and only venerate their *errors?* Shall we perpetuate injustice even against their example, and yet profess to act in veneration to their memory? "*Acta exteriora indicant interiora secreta!*" I do not wish to exasperate excitements which already exist on this subject. But it should never be offensive to hear the truth, and when it is, we may be sure that there is some error to be corrected in our conduct. When I speak of the Legislature and of the parties in it, I am to be understood to speak of them not individually, but as a body of delegates representing a people excited by party spirit. Much allowance is to be made likewise, for the indiscretion of some of our Western brethren, who have hastily introduced the demands for reform as demands of 'the West,' and very naturally it excites this party opposition. Flint and steel are apt to produce fire, when they are brought into contact by edges. I am sorry that I have been obliged to allude to these parties at all. I know I shall be acquitted by fair men from the imputation of a wrong motive, if they will but remember that I could not answer objections based on *party* grounds, without taking the course I have pursued; and I could not redeem my pledge to investigate this subject, and yet pass these objections by in silence.

SENEX.

FOREIGN.

We copy the following foreign news from the New York Courier & Enquirer:

"The dates from London are of the 31st May, and from Liverpool of the 1st June.

A preliminary treaty has been entered into by Holland for the settlement of the long protracted Belgian question. The King of Holland however, concedes nothing, unless it be the free navigation of the Scheldt and Meuse; the other points in dispute are, it would seem, to be settled under the supervision of Austria and Prussia. The repeal of the hostile measures adopted by England towards Dutch commerce will assuredly afford great relief to Holland, and we presume, be the signal for some valuable Dutch ships and cargoes which have taken refuge in our ports, to return to their own country.

That a treaty of peace has been concluded between the Grand Seignior and the Pasha of Egypt is now placed beyond a doubt, but a Russian force is still at Constantinople, and excites great uneasiness, particularly in France. From a speech of the Duke de Broglie, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs on the discussion of the question of guaranteeing a loan for Greece, it is evident, that the French government suspects the present designs, and feels indignant at the recent encroachments of Russia in the East. M. de Broglie says, that he does not expect the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire will take place immediately, but he seems to entertain little hope that the catastrophe can be long delayed, and he hints that neighboring states (meaning, of course, Russia and Austria) could easily profit by the dissolution of the Turkish power, while states at a distance would find it more difficult to obtain an equivalent increase of territory to re-adjust the disturbed balance. In such circumstances, according to him, the policy of France should be to prop up the crumbling colossus as long as possible; and, if it must fall in our times, to let it down as gently as possible, without permitting foreign hands to partition its ruins, or to seize upon its fragments. He would rather see its territory formed into separate states, like Greece, than becoming the conqured provinces of larger empires. If, however, such conquests should be attempted or accomplished, the French Minister declares that France will not "be slow in looking out for a compensation."

We may by the bye, here observe that in this debate on the Greek Question, M. Bignon who was the leading speaker in opposition to the Ministers, denied that the faith of France was engaged to a financial arrangement merely because the Royal signature was attached to a political treaty, and therefore insisted on the absolute right of the Chamber to refuse its assent to such financial arrangement, if it should conceive it to be unjust or impolitic. This principle may be brought to bear on the treaty by which the French Government agreed to pay us an indemnity for spoilations on our commerce. The appropriation necessary to enable them to comply with their obligations to this country, has no doubt been 'ere this asked of the Chamber of Deputies and the question of making it, been fully discussed.

The majorities of the French Ministers in the Chamber are becoming much smaller, than they have latterly been.

No decisive step has yet been taken in Oporto. The accounts from thence speak with confidence of a forward movement of the forces of Don Pedro being about to take place, and it would seem to be high time. Strong reinforcements are on their way to join him both from France and England. This has called up the Duke af Wellington in the House of Lords, who enquired of Ministers whether they were aware that armed ships with troops on board, had left England under the command of a Captain of the Navy, for the purpose of aiding Don Pedro;—and not receiving a satisfactory reply, he gave notice of a motion for an address to the King, praying for the observation of strict neutrality between the two contending parties.

It we turn our attention to England, we are forcibly impressed with a belief that an important change is about to take place there. The ministers are becoming more and more unpopular and the attacks of the Radical press more violent. The political Unions at Birmingham, Newcastle and many other places are continually in session, and pass the most violent resolutions. A meeting has been held for the purpose of presenting some mark of public approbation to the Coroner's Jury who brought in a verdict of "justifiable homicide" in the case of the police man at the Spa fields meeting. The legality of the verdict had been brought in question by the Government before the Court of King's Bench, which has quashed it as being contrary to law. A suit for libel has also been commenced by the Attorney General against "The True Sun" newspaper, chiefly on the ground that, that paper had recommended the people not to pay the taxes, and had endeavored to bring the House of Commons into contempt. These measures will probably tend more to excite popular feeling against the government than to suppress it, & it seems likely that the King will either be compelled to change his present cabinet for a high Tory one, which will attempt to stifle the public voice by high handed measures, or else to give way still further to the Radical party. Either course is pregnant with the most serious consequences.

The debate on the West Indian question has commenced in the House of Commons, and was still pending at the latest London dates. Some trifling alteration had been made in the plan of Ministers, but the immediate and unqualified emancipation of the negroes was still its principal feature. It is strange to see these colonies, the acquisition of which cost England so dear, and the conquest of one of which from an enemy during the last war, was attended with rejoicings throught the Empire, with illuminations and the firing of the tower guns, now sacrificed to mistaken ideas of philanthropy.

[That the negroes of the West Indies will be emancipated without qualification and in a very few years at longest; and that *all* the white inhabitants will be forced to quit these islands does not admit of a doubt. On the important consequences of this measure, to our own country we shall not at the present time hazard any remarks. We only wish to state a certain fact and one often admitted to us by intelligent Englishmen that "mistaken ideas of philanthropy" are by no means the sole or even the principal motive for emancipating the West Indian Slaves.—Perhaps no nation is in advance of England in schemes for ameliorating the condition of mankind, as is evinced by her many active benevolent institutions, numbering among their patrons the most distinguished men of the land. But the emancipation of the West India slaves as a measure of the ministers is one of *expediency*, of *loss* and *gain*. They cannot retain them except at the expence of immense treasure & loss of life,—and in the event of an extensive European war, perhaps not at all—because they cannot as in the East Indies employ native troops, and all the European soldiers might be required at home.—For trade and enterprise of every kind, a far richer field is opened in Africa by the discoveries of the Landers, and in the greatly extended possessions of the English in the East. The monopoly of the East India Company will be greatly curtailed on the renewal of their charter; and thus a most lucrative field will be in some degree open to the whole nation. We regard the measure of emancipation of the West Indian slaves, therefore as making a virtue of a kind of necessity, in pretending to do that from motives of humanity, which is contemplated to be done chiefly for reasons of *State policy* and *commercial speculation*. *Editor of W. Carolinian.*]

MAJOR DOWNING—*Again.*

[We are happy to learn that the announcement of the supposed death by drowning, which appeared in this paper a few days ago, was a mistake, and that the distinguished individual, Major Downing, is sound and well down east. We have strong hope of hearing frequently from him, touching his and the President's tour.

N. Y. Daily Adv.

BOSTON, 25th June, 1833.

MR. EDITOR,—I have seen in your paper a "Crowner's Inquest," saying I was drowned at the Bridge of Castle Garden and picked up down in York bay—this is a tarnel lie, and I wish you to say so—I did not so much as get my feet wet when the bridge fell, though it was a close shave, I tell you. I was riding right along side of the Gineral, if any thing a little ahead on him. But this aint the only thumper, I've heard about that scrape. I have heard it said that Mr. Van Buren had saw'd the string pieces under the bridge, any body may guess for what; but that can't be so—for he was right behind the Gineral when the bridge fell, and all the folks was floundering in the mud and water. I thought he was gone too, for he was right in the thickest on 'em. I and the Gineral clapt in the spurs, and we went quick enough through the crowd on the Battery; & the first thing I saw was Mr. Van Buren, hanging on the tail of the Gineral's horse, and streaming out behind as straight as old Deacon Willoby's cue, when he is a leetle too late to meetin. Some of the folks said it looked a little like the "Flying Dutchman"—and some said something about "Tom O'Shanter," but never mind, we snaked him out of that scrape as slick as a whistle. I don't believe any one was drown'd—but some did get a mortal ducking. I never see such a mess, they west in there like frogs—and such an eternal mixing—Colonels and Captains, and Niggars, and Governors, Sailors and all, it made no odds which went first, or what end was uppermost. And when we got up to the tavern where we put up over night, I and the Gineral had a real laugh to see all our folks coming in one arter another. Gov. Cass had a bandanna tied round his head—what says I Governor, are you hurt? "not as I knows on says he; but I lost my wig," sure enough, came to take off the handkercher, his wig was gone. Well says I, Governor, you've got the whole Indian tribes in your department, and it is a hard case if you can't get a scalp to suit you—and the Gineral snorted out right at this—and then come Gov. Massey; and he had his pantaloons ripped from his waistband clean down to his knee. Well says I this beats all natur; it will cost more than 50 cents to mend them. Never mind, Massey, says the Gineral,—if you can't get them are pantaloons mended—the State'll give you a new pair—and then we all snorted and sniker'd, I tell you.

I suppose it won't amount to nothing to tell you what he did in York; it seems to me every living critur was there. I never see such a crowd in all creation; and it has been just so all the while up to this hour.

I've got the rumatiz now all over me—I ha'nt had my hat on for nearly three weeks. As soon as we go out, I take one side and the gineral t'other, and once in a while we change sides, and bowing right and left—I like that better than shakin hands, for I can stand it now,—and with one swing bow over 5000 folks at once, and we cant shake off half that number before breakfast.

Mr. Van Buren gets along pretty well here among the Yankees, considering that he has got his hands full tell you. They dont hurra quite as they do down South, but kinder like to talk over things, you know, and we've got plaguy little time for that.—"Majur," says Mr. Van Buren, one day, "I wish you would do all the talkin with these folks—you have a nack that way"—well says I, I don't know but I have—but says I, Mr. Van Buren, I guess you can talk as glib as most folks." So he can: for I do raly believe, if Mr. Van Buren was to set up a factory, he would turn out cloth that would suit any kind of living cretur, and no one could tell whether it was made of cotton or flax, hemp or wool—twilled or plain strip'd or check'er'd—but a little of all on'em—I never see such a curious cretur as he is—he likes every body; and he is just like every body;—and yet, in all the droves of folks I've seen since I left Washington, I never saw any body like Mr. Van Buren. Enos Lyman got a painter to try and get a likeness of Mr. Van Buren, for his sign board to the Tavern, on the road to Trenton. Well now says I just put up your brushes, you may just as well try to paint a flash of heat lightning in dog days.

But he tried it, and the sign board looks just about as much like Mr. Van Buren as a salt cod fish looks like a pocket handkercher.

We start to-morrow morning down East, and I shan't be able to write another word till arter we have been to Downingville—I'm going on ahead to lend, sergeant Joel a hand to get things to rights there, and if you don't hear of cracking work down there, that will make 'em all stare, I'm mistaken. The gineral is amazingly tickled with the Yankees; and the more he sees on 'em, the better he likes 'em. "No nullification here, Major," says he,—no, says I, general—Mr. Calhoun would stand no more chance down East, here, than a stump'd tail bull in fly time.

So no more at present from your obedient servant,

J. DOWNING, Major,
Downingsville, Militia—2d Brigade.

FROM THE PRESBYTERIAN.

THOUGHTS ON THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TONGUE.

Few persons have failed to remark how much of evil is caused in society by the neglect of the Scriptural commands on the subject of caution in the use of the tongue. The tongue is, indeed, "a world of iniquity" when under the influence of the various passions which agitate the human breast, it sends forth those streams of evil, of which it may be the source. And yet, with all these deplorable consequences full in view, scarcely one in a thousand appears to have adopted any settled principles on the subject of conversation, or to have any adequate views of the consequences of neglecting them.

The following are some thoughts on this subject from Bishop Butler.

There are persons in the world who do not at all speak from having any thing to say, as every sentence shows, but only from their inclination to be talking. Their conversation is a mere exercise of the tongue: no other faculty has any share in it. It is indeed a very unhappy way these people are in; they in a manner cut themselves off from all advantages of conversation, except that of being entertained by their own talk—their business in coming into company not being to get information, but to display themselves; or rather to exert their faculty and talk without design.

If it were needed to say any thing farther, to teach them a lesson of silence—one might put such in mind, how insignificant they render themselves by this excessive talkativeness.

The occasions of silence are obvious, namely—when a man has nothing to say, or nothing but is better unsaid: better in regard to himself, to others, to the subject in discussion, or to conversation already begun.

Conversation on different subjects is not perhaps criminal, unless carried to too great extent: still, while it is not exactly necessary that a man should attempt to be weighty and important in every sentence he utters, yet since *useful* subjects of some kinds are as interesting and entertaining as any others, a wise man when desiring to unbend his mind from business, will choose that the conversation turn upon some what instructive.

It were very much to be wished that discourse did not turn so often upon the characters and affairs of others. Few men are, so to speak, neutral enough to trust themselves with talking of their neighbours, freely and unreservedly.—There is often, an almost unconscious rivalship amongst people of one kind and another in respect to wit, beauty, learning or fortune; and this one thing is sufficient to influence them to speak disadvantageously of others, even when there is no formed malice or ill design. While, therefore, it is so hard to enter on the subject without offending, people should learn to decline it.

Since, however, these topics cannot be entirely excluded from conversation we should be religiously cautious to say nothing but what is strictly and exactly *true*.

It is astonishing, to what an extent even correct and well meaning persons, allow themselves to swerve from the truth. Some of whom we have confidently hoped that they were Christians, are so careless in their words, that no faith is to be reposed in their statements.

BAXTER'S INDUSTRY.

Every one must be struck with the magnitude of Baxter's labours as a writer. The age in which he lived was an age of voluminous authorship, and Baxter was beyond comparison the most voluminous of all his contemporaries. Those who have been acquainted only with what are called his practical or spiritual writings, form no correct estimate of the extent of his works. These form twenty two volumes octavo, in the present edition; and yet they are but a small portion of what he wrote. The number of his books has been variously estimated; as some of the volumes which he published contain distinct treatises, they have sometimes been counted as one, and sometimes reckoned four or five. The best method of forming a correct opinion of Baxter's labours from the press, is by comparing them with those of the brethren, who wrote a great deal. The works of British Hall amount to ten volumes octavo; Lightfoot's extend to thirteen; Jeremy Taylor's to fifteen; Dr. Goodwin's would make about twenty; Dr. Owen's extend to twenty eight; Richard Baxter's, if printed in a uniform edition, could not be comprised in less than sixty volumes, making more than from thirty to forty thousand closely printed octavo pages!

On this mass of writing he was employed from the year 1649, when his first book appeared, till near the time of his death in 1691, a period of forty-four years. Had he been chiefly engaged in writing, this space was amply sufficient to have enabled him to produce all his works with ease.—But it must be recollected, that writing was but a small portion of his occupation. His labours as a minister, and his engagements in the public business of his times, formed his chief employment for many years, so that he speaks of writing but as a kind of recreation from more severe duties. Nor is this all; his state of health must be taken into consideration, in every estimate of his work. A man more diseased, or who had more to contend with the frame of his body, probably never existed in the same circumstances. He was a constant martyr to sickness and pain, so that how he found it practicable to write with the composure which he generally did, is one of the greatest mysteries in history. The energy of his mind was superior to any discouragement; for though it often felt the burden and clog of the flesh, it never gave way to its desire of ease, or succumbed under the pressure of its infirmities. He furnishes an illustrious instance of what may be done by principle, energy, and perseverance, in the most untoward and discouraging circumstances.

Orme.

Communication.

FOR THE WESTERN CAROLINIAN.

A large majority of the people of this State are satisfied, that our Constitution is unequal in its operations; and that a proper regard, for the principles of political justice, and the interest of the whole community, requires "a Reform."—Such being the fact, it seems strange that in a republican community, the will of the majority has so long been unattended to, and failed to accomplish the end proposed: this failure has originated not from a want of unanimity as to the *end*, but from objections to the *mode* by which it was to be arrived at.

The *mode*, to which the attention of our Legislature has been directed, was a "Convention"—to this many objections were urged. By reference to the debates, it will be seen, that the opponents of "Reform" were enabled to prevail, not by a denial of existing evils; but by exciting apprehensions as to the danger of calling a Convention, and by ringing through all its changes the old saying "it is better to bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of."

This apprehension of imaginary danger—a prejudice for old institutions, which forms in politics what in physicks is called *vis inertia*, by which, a body at rest remains at rest until put in motion,—a very natural desire on the part of the *small* counties to hold on to power, regardless of right—and the difficulty of agreeing on the basis of representation, upon which a convention should be formed; (for it was urged, that as counties *now* form the basis of representation, each county must be equally represented in convention; were causes which have combined to defeat the will of a majority and to continue the existence of evils, and a state of political inequality, too glaring for hardihood itself to deny.

At the last session of the Legislature, a joint Committee reported a mode of effecting amendments, not obnoxious to any of the objections urged against a convention, and hailed by our intelligent community as the means of accomplishing the long wished for "Reform" without exciting apprehensions even in the most timid.

Believing that there are many in favor of reform, who are opposed to a convention, and that all such will readily unite upon the mode suggested by the Committee, if it is clearly understood; I propose to make some remarks upon the validity of amendments made in this mode;—and in the second place as to its expediency.

The mode is. that the Legislature shall propose specific amendments—shall cause the vote of the people to be taken "for" or "against" such amendments; and if there be a majority of votes "for the amendments" they become a part of the Constitution.

The validity of this mode, involves the right of the General Assembly to ascertian the will of the majority, by providing for taking the votes of the people—and the binding effect of the will of the majority, when so ascertained.

All Legislative authority is vested in the General Assembly, besides making laws with reference to the civil and criminal Code, it has power to adopt such other measures consistent with the Constitution, as may be deemed condusive to the general good. The General Assembly appointed delegates to attend the convention to revise the Federal Constitution; it provided for the call of a convention to ratify that Constitution; also to fix upon a seat of Government: No one doubted its authority to do so;—so the General Assembly may provide for the election of delegates to a convention for the purpose of amending our State Constitution, or the purpose of proposing amendments to be submitted to the people for their adoption, and further to provide for taking the vote of the people "for" or "against" such proposed amendments, so it has power to provide for taking the vote "for" or against a convention," and by a parity of reasoning it may provide for taking a vote "for" or "against" certain amendments, proposed by its own body.

The main question next occurs, suppose the vote so taken, and a majority is "for" the amendments! does this act of the majority give to the amendments full validity, as part of the Constitution?

When individuals agree to associate themselves together as a community, the majority of necessity have a right *to govern*, and for this purpose to adopt a Constitution or form of Government, to make laws, and such regulations as are conducive to the general good—and to alter or amend this constitution, and these laws, and regulations, at any time.—The bill of rights affirms this political measure in the broadest terms.

"All political power is vested in and derived from the people only. 1st sec.

The people of this State, ought to have the "sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police thereof," 2d sec.

But to give permanency to the constitution, laws and regulations; to restrain the will of a bare majority and to protect the minority, it is proper to provide a stipulation, that alterations or amendments shall not be made unless by the concurrence of more than a majority, or unless made in a particular way. When this is the case, alterations cannot be made by any other means of the people, or in any other way without a violation of good faith.

It is usual to provide that constitutions shall not be altered or amended without the concurrence of two-thirds—this forms an effectual check upon the will of a bare majority.

All Legislative authority is vested in a General Assembly elected in a prescribed manner. This General Assembly has the sole right o making and amending laws, if a majority of the people, either in a convention or in their primary assemblies vote for a particular law, such law is not binding, because not enacted in the particular way provided by the constitution; the law making power having been given up by the people, and vested in the General Assembly. In the Ordinance of 1788, it is stipulated that the seat of Government shall not be altered, "except by the people in convention met for said purpose," if the people in their primary assemblies or by their representatives in the General Assembly enact that the seat of Government be removed, such act is not valid;—because there is a stipulation, that it shall only be done in convention.

In the Constitution of our State, there is no restriction upon the power to amend, and of course a majority may amend at any time—all admit that the people may appoint delegates, a majority of whom may amend; if the delegates of the people have power to amend, have not the people the same power? Can an agent do more than his principal? Is the creature greater than his Creator? Does not the right of the people to appoint agents to do a particular act, necessarily presume that they have a right to do it themselves, there being no stipulation to act by delegates only? "All political power is vested in the people only," by what rule of construction can it be made to read, "all political power is vested in the people in *Convention assembled, only*, all admit that a Convention may be called with power to propose amendments, for the adoption of the people, and that if so adopted they are valid as part of the Constitution; what is it that gives them validity? *The will of the people.* So if the Legislature proposes amendments and the people adopt them, why shall not the will of the *same people* give them *the same* validity? Can it make any difference whether they are proposed by the one body or the other? Can it make any differance as to the validity of my deed whether it be drawn by A or B—it is not the act of the draftsman; it is my own act, my signing-sealing and delivery that makes it bind, ing;—so it is not the act of Convention or Legislature proposing amendments, it is the act of the people adopting them, that gives binding effect.

The conclusion is irresistible, that the people may in their primary assembly amend the Constitution, and that the legislature has a right to provide for taking the vote, for the purpose of affording proper evidence that such is the will of the people.

I will remark upon the expediency of the mode of amending in some numbers.

"REFORM."

THE CAROLINIAN.

FIAT JUSTITIA RUAT DOMINUS.

SALISBURY:

JULY 22, 1833.

CANDIDATES IN ROWAN.

FOR THE SENATE.
THOMAS G. POLK,
JOHN BEARD, Jr.

FOR THE COMMONS.
F. A. WARD,
HAMILTON C. JONES,
JOHN CLEMENT,
C. FISHER.

FOR THE BOROUGH.
BURTON CRAIGE,
R. H. ALEXANDER.

FOR CLERK OF COUNTY COURT.
JOHN GILES,
A. R. JONES.

FOR CLERK OF SUPERIOR COURT.
H. GILES,
ALEX. LONG.

FOR CONGRESS.
A. RENCHER—no opposition.

We must apologise to our subscribers for the inferior quality of the paper on which the CAROLINIAN is printed. A lot of paper of a superior quality, which we ordered some time since, has been forwarded, and we expect will shortly come to hand.

We must unite with our brethren of the type, in complaining of the very irregular arrival of our exchange papers. We sometimes receive several southern papers by the northern mail, and *vice versa*. At other times, papers do not come to hand, till long after they are due. To whom this is chargeable, we know not; we believe it is not owing to a want of care in the P. Office of our town.

The degree of L. L. D. was conferred by the University of Harvard on Gen. Jackson, when he visited that justly distinguished Seminary of science. On the appropriateness of this *honor*, widely different opinions have been expressed in the public journals...some sustaining the course of the University, by the example of Oxford and Cambridge in England...others censuring it on the ground that, *Doct* Jackson has not been advantageously known as a scholar. For our own part, we think it a matter of great indifference, especially in view of the profusion of literary titles at the present time, and we regard the *Doctorate* and the Latin spoken on the occasion, as evidence of a disposition on the part of the University, to pay a compliment which must, of necessity, be in such kind as the faculty had at their disposal...We are rather disposed to complain however, that the same distinction of L. L. D has not been conferred on Major Jack Downing, whose letters are sought after with such avidity by the "reading world." We are apprehensive that Major Downing would in this event, have been put to the expense of a Dictionary of quotations, to show that the learned men knew what they were about, when they conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

Library of the Medical Sciences.

We have received a specimen of the Cyclopaedia of Practical Medicine & Surgery, a Digest of Medical Literature, Edited by Isaac Hays, M. D. Philadelphia. It is on the plan of the French Dictionaries of Medicine and Surgery...and judging from the specimen before us, it will be a great accession to the medical literature of our country. To the country practitioner, it will be invaluable by furnishing him an easy and cheap reference to the state of medicine & surgery, with all the discoveries and improvements made to the present time. "This work will present a digest of the existing state of knowledge in all the branches of the healing art; in special, regional, abnormal and general anatomy; in physiology, therapeutics, materia medica, pharmacy, hygiene, surgery, obstetrics, legal medicine and medical police." The advantages of the plan of the Cyclopaedia, are so great and obvious, that there are now in publication two similar works in London, as well as several in the French and German Languages. The Cyclopaedia is conducted by Doct. Hays, already well known as the Editor of that very able periodical, the American Journal of the Medical Sciences...and among his collaborators in the Cyclopaedia, we recognise some of the brightest ornaments of the profession which this country can boast of.

PROGRESS of the CHOLERA.

This dreadful disease, which is properly called the "scourge of nations," appears by accounts received from the West and South-West, to be making dreadful havoc among the inhabitants.

In New Orleans, the disease had ceased to excite alarm, being nearly extinct.

St. Louis.—We learn, from the St. Louis Republican, of the 25th ult., that "the cholera has much abated" in every quarter of that country, where it had recently been so fatal. "We still have occasional cases in the city. The German emigrants appear to be the greatest sufferers. They are mostly very poor, are crowded together in small uncomfortable houses on their arrival, and disease is the natural consequence."

In Palmyra, Missouri, more than one hundred are said to have died out of a population of 700.

NASHVILLE, TENN.

Cholera.—Within the last week several cases have occurred in this place, but we have not heard of any proving fatal. We would again caution our citizens of the danger of a premature return to the use of such articles of food as they have abstained from during the prevalence of the epidemic. *Republican.*

We regret to learn that six or seven cases of Cholera have appeared at Fayetteville, Tenn., and several deaths. Our information is derived from a written slip of paper, barely mentioning the fact, without giving any of the particulars. The next mail from that place will be looked for with interest.

Since the foregoing was written, we have seen a letter from a gentleman in Fayetteville, Tenn. dated June 27, which states that there had been eight or nine cases, five of which had proved fatal, and one or two others were considered desperate. The latter adds, that the utmost consternation prevails, and that many of the citizens had left town. Travellers who passed through the place on Friday last, say that the number of cases had increased to 18. *Ib.*

MEMPHIS, (TENN.) June 26.

CHOLERA.

We had flattered ourselves that ere this time, we should have the pleasure of congratulating our friends on the entire disappearance of this dreadful disease, but since the date of our last (June 13th,) ten or twelve deaths have occurred from Cholera, and we understand that there are still several violent cases in town. There is reason to believe, however, that the disease has ceased to rage as an epidemic, and although for days to come, cases may occasionally occur, we think that we can safely say that the greatest danger is over, and that our town will soon recover its usual health. We have examined the Sexton's Register, and since the first of June, there have been 42 interments in the public grave yard. The same register shows since the same date, 32 deaths from Cholera, the greater portion of which occurred between the 1st and 15th inst. *Times*

CHOLERA IN SHELBYVILLE, Tenn.

The following letter from a friend in Shelbyville, gives us a more melancholy history of Death's doings in that place, than has lately fallen to our lot to record. In the progress of the Cholera in the United States we have not heard of so terrible an onset as it has made on that place. The population probably does not exceed 700 or 800; and within the space of about 60 hours, 40 names are given as among the dead out of 55 cases—a note on the way bill received by the Post Master here, says 65 deaths. Another letter says, "the town is abandoned by all who could remove,—not more than five families remaining."

Nashville Republican.

"*Shelbyville, Monday, July 1st.*

"For the last few weeks we have had frequent showers, with intensely hot sunny and during this time a slight disordered state of the stomach and bowels, or in other words the Cholerine, became prevalent every where. This continued until about 12 o'clock last Friday night, when malignant Cholera made its appearance, with perhaps as much destruction as I have ever heard of in any place, Havanna and New Orleans not excepted. Up to he present time we have had as many as fifty cases, and I think there are not ten left this morning out of the fifty. Every plan of treatment was adopted that our experience and observation have afforded us, together with every thing said heretofore by the experienced and learned on the subject, but it all had no more effect than cold water. The disease is still prevailing to some extent, but not so violent as a first. I have no doubt the cause still exists as malignant as ever, but there are but few subjects to operate on, as the town has become entirely depopulated. There are now scarcely a sufficient number of persons in town to bury the dead. I must close, as my weak and feeble powers will not enable me to write more fully, which I will do if I am spared."

The following is a list of the dead as far as we have been able to learn:

Whites.—Mrs Dr. Whitney, Mrs. Wade, Mrs. Anderson, Nat Calwell, Mrs. Mitchell, Dr. Garrison, Rodger's wife, Mr. Shanks, Mrs. G. D. Davidson, Mrs. Millet, Peter Morgan, Dr A. B. Morton, Peter Donally, James Brinton, wife and son, Mrs. Wardlaw; Miss Wait, Anderson Vannoy, Mr. Law, Mr. Shanks, John Shanks and child, infant daughter of Willis Moore, child of Mr. Ruth, Theophilus Anderson, Danl. Turentine, Peter Shiloat...28

Blacks...Ceasy, Martial, William, Sally, three at J. A. Marrs', boy of Robt. Cannon, a servant of Dr. Lipscomb, a servant of Mr Galbraith, a servant of D. M'Kneick, servant of Jno. Aikins. 12. Total 40

By letters received by the junior Editor of this paper from Kentucky, we are sorry to hear that the Cholera is doing great damage in Paris in that State. There were in one day about 24 deaths, and as great a number the following few days. Paris is healthy and pleasantly situated....No further particulars from Pittsburgh. *Cincinnati Herald.*

Lexington, (Ky.)—Our accounts from Lexington, (Ky.) are as late as the 2d July. The "Literary Journal" of that date says—"several cases of Cholera have occurred, and several deaths, since our last paper." The absentees, however, are beginning to return. The Journal remarks—"it seems to have fallen with a peculiarly heavy weight on the most healthful and usually least exposed upland districts. This is conclusive proof that the long continued and the unseasonable general rains of May and June last, were the causes of the poisonous condition of the atmosphere in these situations."

Louisville...The cholera prevails mildly in Louisville, and was said to be slowly increasing in that city and in the country around, especially among the blacks. No white person much known abroad had died of it, except Lee White Esq.

In Georgetown, Millersburg, Flemmingsburg, Springfield, Paris, Barboursville and some other places, its ravages have been severe. It appears to be marked by as much malignity in the adjoining counties as characterized its progress in Lexington.

Kanawha County.—We copy the following paragraph from the Charleston (Kanawha Banner of July 4th.

"There is no doubt of the existence of this disease upon the Kanawha. Several cases terminating in death in a few hours have occurred at the Salines, and one or two have been reported in the town of Charleston, but not fatal. We learn, that very exaggerated reports, have gone abroad in relation to the extent of this disease in our neighborhood, and to the end that we may publish what may be relied upon as *the whole truth*, we respectfully request the several Physicians of the county to send us as early as Tuesday of each week, a full report of all cases occurring in their practice. They will readily see the propriety and expediency of this course, and we hope for the relief of the minds of those abroad who have friends here, that they will not fail to pursue it. Madam Rumour we learn has already sacrificed to the disease one half of the population of Charleston, when not a single death, not even an aggravated case of Cholera, has occurred in the town."

Wheeling.—The Weeling Times of the 3d inst announces that no case of cholera had occurred in that place since the 25th June. The whole number of cases of cholera, in the latter stages of the disease, which have occurred in Wheeling, was 486—deaths 183.—A letter from Wheeling, notices as a singular fact, that the martins and even the domestic pigeons left that place during the prevalence of the disease.

Pittsburg.—From the 27th June to July 1, inclusive, eight deaths, by cholera, occurred in Pittsburg.

A letter from Tallahassee, of June 2d. published in the Savannah Georgian, states that the Cholera had broken out at Appalachicola within a few days, very violently, and that all the inhabitants had fled.

On the Potomac.—The Hagerstown (Md.) Torch Light informs us that the cholera is increasing along the line of the canal, in the neighborhood of Williamsport. It adds—"The disease, this season, we understand, differs somewhat in its character from that of last season. Being serious, if ever, attended with the outward symptoms which have heretofore characterized it? It is not less malignant and fatal, however, on that account, as but few survive more than 12 hours, and in some instances not more than three or four hours."

Kentucky, Va.—The Lexington Union of July 5th, informs us that there had been several sudden deaths in Bath county, Va. within the preceding fortnight, "which are believed by many intelligent individuals to have been cases of the cholera, all of them sporadic or incidental in their character. Others believe that they were nothing more than common cholera morbus, induced by eating fruit, and exposure.—About ten days have now elapsed since the last death is said to have occurred, and we hear of no other cases or deaths."—The same paper remarks—"The disease is said to be spreading in the country, in Mason county, in this State."

Several cases of Cholera are said to have occurred at Mobile point.

From information received this morning, (July 7th) from the acting health officer, it appears that we have reason to believe that the Cholera does not exist on Amelia Island.

Health of Vicksburg, Mississippi... The health officer has made no report within the week. Until yesterday, we believe that the Cholera had ceased to be an epidemic in Vicksburgh, but we are mistaken. In the last thirty-six hours there have been five cases, all of which proved fatal. We have heard of no new cases this morning.

In the country, the disease still prevails without any material abatement. On one plantation, about four miles from town, fourteen slaves have died in the last week. *Advocate.*

THE CHOLERA AT LEXINGTON.

Extract of a letter to the editor of the National Gazette, dated Lexington, Kentucky, June 16;..

"On Sunday, the 2d inst. that awful scourge of God, the Cholera, broke out in Lexington, and its ravages have been dreadful and desolating beyond example—not excepting even New Orleans. It is the opinion of the best informed, that not far short of 400 have fallen victims in about 16 days, and this too with a greatly reduced population.—More than one half, probably two-thirds, died soon after its commencement. Not the intemperate, not the dissolute, not the wretched and poverty stricken alone have fallen, but many of our best citizens—men of wealth, of character, of sobriety, of religion. No less than ten or twelve communicants in our church, and I presume a proportional number in all the rest. Many of our most worthy and respectable ladies also,—among them, Mrs. Scott, relict of the late Governor Scott. Thus the pestilence has seemed to take a more elevated range that it has usually done in other places. It is true, that many of the lower classes have fallen. It has been very severe upon the blacks, especially upon those who were *free*. They had nobody to care for them, any money would not command attendants.—But, after all, no more than upon others, in proportion to their numbers.

"The progress of the disease has been frightfully rapid. Many have gone to their beds well, and have been in their graves before the next noon. The panic has been dreadful, and the more so as it was wholly unexpected. All that could, fled. The City Authorities disappeared—no hospital for the poor provided—no Board of Health formed—no medical reports made or required—and *now*, no mode of ascertaining our exactions. We can only *guess* at it by the numbers of the *missing*. Stores have been shut—boarding and tavern signs—public houses, printing offices, &c. silent; and, in short, nothing open but grave yards and their *promenatories*—apothecaries' shops. Even butchers and bakers suspended their functions, and country people ceased to supply our market. In short, the general cry seemed to be that of Napoleon's shattered troops, at battle of Waterloo—"Sauve qui peut!" Our physicians are either dead or broken down. Dr. Dudley alone I believe has stood it through, and is still on the alert. Some others are trying to follow his example *a la distance*. Dr. Cooke, a host in such a scene, has been unfortunately put *hors de combat*, by a fall. But, alas! the most they have done is by way of *prevention*. The real Cholera has been cured but in a few cases. But I have no doubt all has been done that was possible, in a state of society so completely disorganized. The general suffering has been great, and individual suffering beyond description. No paper has been printed, or handbill issued, because there was no body to do it. All was consternation and dismay. Some, who died, were soon brought back on the bier—others were buried in the country. Graves could not be dug, nor coffins made, so fast as they were wanted. A number of coffins, or boxes, were sometime put in one hole. Ten or a dozen bodies have been left in the grave yard, unburied till their turn came next day. When we retired, at night, we could not expect, and hardly dared to hope, to meet again well. Such, sir, has been the Cholera in Lexington.

"I said our city authorities had disappeared. This is true of them as a body. The Mayor and Col Comly have been active. But individuals have generously, and I may add, with a godlike zeal, devoted themselves to *doing good*, and to the mitigation of suffering. First and foremost on this list, is Bishop Smith, of the Episcopal Church, who, in body, is but the skeleton of a man, but in heart and soul, a *giant*, in every good word and work. His whole time, day and night, rain and shine, has been devoted to the consolation of the dying, or the funeral services of the dead. From early dawn to midnight he has been constantly on his feet, or on his knees; and to me, it seems a miracle, that he is still on duty, as bright as ever! What other Clergymen here have done,—I have not heard. David Sayre, too, has devoted himself, body, soul and purse, to the alleviation of misery, and deserves from the friends of humanity a brighter meed, than ever graced the brow of a monarch. Many others have followed his example. Several gentlemen too in the country have contributed generously to our relief, by sending in and distributing, beef and other necessaries. Among these I need not name the patriot farmer of Ashland.

Lexington has received a shock, from which it can not speedily recover."

A CAMP MEETING

WILL commence on Friday the 26th instant, at the Camp Ground, at Wesley's Chapel for the Davidson Circuit. Preachers of the adjoining Circuit are generally invited to attend.

The Rev. ALEXANDER ALBRIGHT, missionary for the annual conference of the Methodist protestant Church, in North Carolina, will preach in Salisbury on Tuesday the 23rd inst.

DR. E. E. WEGATON

PRESENTS his thanks to the citizens of Salisbury, and its vicinity, for their very liberal patronage; and respectfully informs them, that he will return to Salisbury, about the 12th inst., for the purpose of performing the various operations on the teeth.

JOB PRINTING
EXECUTED WITH NEATNESS and DISPATCH,
AT THIS OFFICE.

From THE WESTERN CAROLINIAN.

Unity and Franklin Temperance Society.

Unity, July 4, 1833.

The Society met and held their third annual meeting, which was opened by Prayer, and a few practical remarks by the Rev. Wm. A. Hall, suitable both to the day and the circumstances under which we had met, after which the President took the chair and invited all present who wished to become members of the Society to come forward and enroll their names, when four came and enlisted in the good cause. The Sec'y. then read the annual report, which was adopted,—after which the following preamble and resolutions were submitted by John Fraley, and unanimously adopted.

Believing that it would greatly promote the cause of Temperance, if all the Societies in the counties were concentrated, and were to act in Union one with another in adopting means and measures for the promotion of Temperance in the county,—therefore Resolved, That this Society become Auxiliary to the Rowan Temperance Society at Salisbury, and that for the future our annual reports be made to said Society.

Resolved further, That at least two delegates be annually chosen by this Society, to attend the annual meeting of the Rowan Temperance Society.

Resolved further, That if it become necessary, the annual meeting of this Society be so altered as to give the Secretary time to furnish the Secretary of the Rowan Temperance Society with our annual report in time for him to make his annual report.

Resolved further, That this Society would respectfully ask all the Temperance Societies in the county to adopt similar resolutions if thought expedient.

Resolved further, That the Editors in Salisbury be requested to give the proceedings of the meeting, together with the annual report, a place in their columns. The Society then proceeded to elect officers for the ensuing year, after which the Society adjourned to meet at Franklin on the last Friday in September next.

The Society then dismissed by Prayer.

JOHN FRALEY, Sec'y.

Unity and Franklin Temperance Society Auxiliary to the American Temperance Society. Third annual report; In submitting our report, we would briefly say, that our Society is increasing, and Temperance gaining ground in our bounds. Our society now numbers 110 (three having left us and joined another society since our last report,) and many who have not yet joined the society, have banished ardent spirits from their Houses, and but few in our bounds, are using it to that excess they formerly did, and we believe that the use of it has diminished at least three fourths in our bounds since the formation of our Society. We think we can now safely say that our Society has been instrumental in reclaiming at least three or four from the sin and evil of Intemperance, of this we are glad, and from this we take courage and are determined in the strength of the Lord to go on, let others say what they will, but were we to stop here and say no more about those whom we believe our Society has been instrumental in reclaiming and saving from the Drunkards Grave, the half would not be told, for we believe these same men now useful and respectable members of society and sitting at the feet of Jesus clothed and in their right minds, for which we do rejoice, and inasmuch as we see the good effects of our Society, and see that God is pleased to own and bless the Temperance cause, we call upon all who care for the Temporal or eternal good of themselves or their fellow beings, to come with us to the help of the Lord, against the mighty. To lend a helping hand in putting a stop to the use of Ardent Spirits, that great disturber of the peace and destroyer of the souls and bodies of men, who is annually sweeping his thousands to an untimely grave, and to an awful eternity.

JOHN FRALEY, Sec.

July 4th, 1833.

DIED,

In this County, on Tuesday the 2d inst *Joseph T.* son of Wm. H. Haenner, aged 2 years 2 months.

NEGROES WANTED.

THE subscriber wishes to purchase a number of

YOUNG NEGROES,

of both sexes, for the next twelve months. Any person having such property for sale, would do well to apply to him, at the Mansion Hotel, as he will give the most liberal prices in cash. The subscriber is not concerned this year with James Huie, in the purchase of negroes.

ROBERT HUIE.

Letters to the subscriber will be promptly attended to, in person, or by Josiah Huie, who is authorised to purchase for him at all times. R. H.

Salisbury, July 18, 1833 83tf

NOTICE.

ALL persons having claims against the Estate of Norman Owings, dec'd. are requested to present them legally authenticated or this notice will be plead in bar of recovery.

W. MONROE, *Adm'r with the will annexed.*

July 13, 1833. 3 88

SALISBURY FEMALE SEMINARY.

AN Examination of the young Ladies will take place on the 30th and 31st of July. The friends of the Institution are requested to attend.

BENJ COTTRELL, *Principal.*

July 13, 1833. 2t87

All persons indebted to the late firm of HACKETT & LEMLY are requested to come forward immediately and settle their respective accounts, either by Cash or Note, as further indulgence cannot be given.

July 18, 1833. 3t88

Negroes Wanted.

THE subscribers wish to purchase YOUNG & LIKELY

NEGROES,

(of both sexes,) for which the CASH will be paid, by calling application, either personally or by letter, at Lexington, Davidson County, N. C. &c.

HARGRAVE & HUMPHREYS.

May 24th, 1833. 77tf

New Tailor Shop
IN LEXINGTON N. C.

Mr. Theophilus M. Simpson

MOST respectfully informs his friends, & the public at large, that he is now carrying on the Tailoring Business, in all its various branches in the town of Lexington, N. C. in the shop East of the Court House, formerly occupied by P. Fowler.

He regularly receives the latest New York and Philadelphia fashions, which will enable him to make any gentleman

A fashionable suit of Clothes,

on short notice, and in a superior style of workmanship. He hopes by assiduous attention to business to merit a share of public patronage.

April 12, 1833. 71tf

NOTICE.

THE Subscriber having qualified as Executrix of the Estate of Alexander R. Caldcleugh, deceased, gives notice to all persons having demands against said Estate to present them for payment within the time prescribed by act of Assembly, otherwise, they will be barred of recovery by the operation of said act. All persons indebted to said estate, are requested to come forward and pay, or secure their debts without delay.

E. B. CALDCLEUGH, Ex'r.

Davidson Co. 31, 1833. 79tf

TO THE PUBLIC.

ON the night of the 4th of July inst. some person entered my house and stole out of my pocket a calf-skin or sheep-skin pocket-book containing about one hundred and eighty dollars in bank bills, and also sundry judgments, Executions and notes, among which the following are remembered, viz:

A Judgment and Execution in favour of John Woods vs. Hiram Fisher for a sum between $30 or $40.

A Judgment and Execution in favour of A. Torrence, Admr. vs. Ephraim Erwin for about $38.00, and a bond on Erwin for the delivery of property levied on to satisfy that Execution.

A Judgment and Execution in favour of plaintiff not recollected vs R. Torrentine and J. Torrentine placed in my hands by David M'Ewen.

A Judgment and Execution in favour of Shuford vs Joseph Stephenson for about $5.00.

A Judgment and Execution vs Miles Stewart for about $2.00.

A note on A. D. Brooks and S. Tanner to James Mcknight, due 4th July, 1833 for $3.00.

A note given by Elijah J. Smoot to L. H. Alexander, date and amount not recollected.

The foregoing papers besides others that cannot now be recollected so as to describe them, were placed in my hands as an officer for collection, and the persons who are indebted thereon are notified not to pay their accounts to any person except myself, Joseph P. Caldwell, Theophilus Falls, or William F. Cowan. Those who hold my official receipts for papers are requested to present them for adjustment to one of the above named persons.

JOHN H. SMITH,
Constable.

Statesville, July 5, 1833. 84tf

N. B. We have been informed by Mr. J. H. Smith, that the pocket book and most of the papers have been found, but none of the money.

NOTICE.

THE certificate for Four shares of the Capital or Joint Stock of the State Bank of North Carolina, subscribed for in the name of Jas. Locke and transferred to Philip Hanes late of Rowan county, N. C. dec'd, being lost or mislaid, Notice is hereby given to all persons concerned that I shall apply to the President of said Bank, either in person or by agent to issue a duplicate thereof. 77—3m

GEORGE HANES, Ex'r.

Salisbury, May 24th, 1833.

A CARD.

C. WALTER JIBSON, M. D.
SURGEON DENTIST, OF RICHMOND, VA.

WILL visit Salisbury on the 27th of this month, and remain a short period, every operation requisite to preserve and beautify the Teeth will be done on moderate terms, and late approved principles.

Ladies waited on at their dwellings.

☞ The Rev. Clergy attended gratuitously. 79tf

May 13, 1833.

POETRY.

THE MARRIED MAN.

I don't care three-and-sixpence now
For any thing in life;
My days of fun are over now,
I'm married to a wife—
I'm married to a wife, my boys,
And that, by Jove's no joke!
I've eat the white of this world's egg,
And now I've got the yolk.

I'm sick of sending marriage cake,
Of eating marriage dinners,
And of all the fuss that people make
With newly-wed beginners;
I care not for white champaigne,
I never cared for red;
Blue coats are all blue bores to me,
And Limerick gloves are kid.

And as for posting up and down,
It adds to all my ills;
At every paltry country town
I wish you saw the bills;
They know me for a married man,
Their smirking says they do,
And charge me as the Scot Greys charged
The French at Waterloo.

I've grown, too, quite an idle rogue,
I only eat and drink;
Reading with me is not in vogue,
I can't be plagued to think;
When breakfast's over, I begin
To wish 'twere dinner time,
And these are all the changes now
In my wife's pantomine.

I wonder if this state be what
Folks call the honey moon?
If so, upon my word, I hope
It will be over soon;
For too much honey is to me
Much worse than too much salt;
I'd rather read from end to end,
The works of Mr. Galt.

O! when I was a bachelor,
I was as brisk's a bee,
But now I lie on ottomans,
And languidly sip tea,
Or read a little paragraph
In any evening paper;
Then think it time to go to sleep,
And light my bedroom taper.

O! when I was a bachelor
I always had some plan
To win myself a loving wife,
And be a married man;
And now that I am so at last,
My plans are at an end,
I scarcely know one thing to do,
My time I cannot spend.

O! when I was a bachelor,
My spirits never flagg'd,
I walk'd as if a pair of wings
Had to my feet been lagg'd;
But I walk much more slowly now,
As married people should,
Were I to walk six miles an hour,
My wife might think it rude.

Yet after all I must confess,
This easy sort of way
Of getting o'er life's jolting road,
Is what I can't gainsay;
I might have been a bachelor
Until my dying day,
Which would have been to err at least
As far the other way.

VARIETY.

I served, (says Jefferson in his memoirs) with Gen. Washington in the Legislature of Virginia before the Revolution, and during it, with Doct. Franklin in Congress. I never heard either of them speak ten minutes at a time, nor to any but the main point which was to decide the question. They laid their shoulders to the great points, knowing that the little ones would follow of themselves.

A just Distinction.—The great distinction between a dun and a bottle of claret in a poets' garret is, that the former drives a man out of his wits, while the latter drives the wits out of the man.

Those who outlive their incomes by splendor, in dress or equipage, are well said to resemble a house on fire, which shines by that which destroys it.

French Politeness.—The following compliment was lately paid by a Parisian dentist to a lady. He had made several ineffectual attempts to draw out her decayed tooth, and finding at last that he must give it up, apologised by saying, 'the fact is, madam, it is impossible for any thing bad to come out of your mouth!!!'

Harding has a good story to tell. I have no doubt of its truth. He had been painting a very pretty girl, who brought her sister to see the picture. "Lord, Mary," said she, when she saw it, "why did'nt you have blue eyes?" "Blue eyes, child! why my eyes are black." "Ah, but blue eyes are much prettier."

A gentleman met another in the streets, who was ill of a consumption, and accosted him thus:—'Ah! my friend, you *walk* slow." "Yes," replied the man, 'but I am *going* fast.'

WHO IS A GENTLEMAN.

The answer to this question, among Americans, depends generally upon the condition, feeling and particular mode of thinking, of those who may undertake to answer it;—and consequently, he who is very much of a gentleman in the estimation of one person, is no gentleman at all in the opinion of another.

A gentleman in the estimation of mine host, is one who calls freely for all the good things appertaining to the bar, the wine cellar and the table; pays his bill punctually, without disputing the items or the prices; and speaks in flattering terms of every thing about his landlord's premises, from the sheds in the attic to Betty in the kitchen.

With waiters and others, a gentleman is one who is flush of his cash; who after having paid their master as much as their services are worth, pays them four times their value into the bargain. "Mass D sh," says Cuffee, "he be one real gemman; he gib me half a dollar for brush his boots; tree quarter doller for hold his hoss, and hole dollar for collin him a gemman. And he be a fuss rate gemman—no mistuke.'!

A gentleman, with Dolly, the chambermaid, is one who says a soft thing to her, praises her good looks, compares her cheeks to the damask rose, her lips to red cherries, her eyes to the planet Venus, and her waist to an hour glass; and who, to prove the sincerity of his soft nothing, gives her occasionally a sly kiss, a gentle squeeze of her hand and a bright silver dollar.

A dandy's estimation of a gentleman is based on a foundation peculiarly his own. He is not a creature who has any thing to do with money, sense; feeling, flesh or blood.—He is wholly a fictitious animal, made up by the tailor, the seamstress, the cordwainer, the hatter, and the corset manufacturer. He is, to be sure, a creature that walks, talks, and eats; but he does all these from no ordinary motive. He walks merely to show his gentlemanly figure; he talks only because he never thinks; and eats for the same reason that his tailor uses padding, viz: to fill out his proportions.

With a duellist, he is no gentleman who refuses to fight a duel.—He may enact as many villainous tricks as he pleases; he may seduce the weak, betray the confiding, cheat the honest, and murder the unresisting—all these do not detract one whit from his gentlemanly pretensions. But if he refuses to stand up and be shot at, he is no gentleman. Having complied with these requisits, he is a gentleman every inch of him, adultery, treachery and murder to the contrary notwithstanding.

With 'good society' people, he only is a gentleman, whose ancestors were gentlemen before him. Who can enumerate a long line of forefathers and forementhers; or who according to the idea of Franklin, left off their woollen shirts and linsey woolsey petticoats, at least one generation sooner than their Plebian neighbors. In short in the opinion of 'good society,' the term gentleman has no reference to what a man himself is, but to what his ancestors have been.

With the gay Miss, who never breathes freely only in the open atmosphere of folly and show, a gentleman is one who exerts himself to promote her wishes: who gallants her to theatres, balls and sleighrides, who neglects his business to attend to her amusements; who spends his money to advance her pleasures:—who in a word, is pretty much, if not altogether, a ladys man.

But with the young lady's maiden aunt, a said gentlewoman of forty, the gentleman is still a different personage. He is the essence of respectful attention; and does not indicate by word, look, or action that he suspects her of being older than she was once, or that he prefers the company of younger Misses.

With the old ladies of revolutionary times, a gentleman is one who wears a three cornered beaver, has his hair tied behind, and powdered all over; and has his shirts ruffled at the wrist; who wears short small clothes, and a long waistcoat and pocket flaps; who wears silver buckles that reach from side to side of his well shaped shoe; who walks with a gold headed cane; and who in his manners, neglects no item of the ceremony of olden times.

The pit-a-pat heart, of a susceptible girl of sixteen, tells her that a gentleman is a tall fellow, with a fine military cap on his head, a blue coat turned up with red facing; a sword by his side; a neat pair of whiskers; a measured step, and a 'How do you do, my charming Miss? You are the loveliest creature I ever beheld—upon my soul you are!'

Miss Phillis to—she hab her gemman. And he be a brack man tract, as a lamp pose, wid wite teef, rolly eye, shiny shin, flatty foot, plumpy lip, broady nose—a nigger who wear a red coat, be de color what it will; who fiddle like Pollo, dance like Frenchman, make tea or three bow in a minit, and, 'O loddy! Miss Phillis, your unpolisheable beauty has set my heart on fire. O glue pot!'

Among fox hunters a gentleman is a fellow who can leap a five barred gate, jump a twenty foot ditch, tread the windings of a forest at full gallop, smell the track when the hounds are at fault, be the first at the death of Reynard; dip the brush in a bowl of punch & drink the washings of fox tail.

With a country housewife, he is every bit of a gentleman, who praises her domestic accomplishments;—extols her cookery, admires the neatness of her house, and pats the heads of her children; who prefers molasses to sugar in sweetning coffee; eats sour bread with a *wry* face; despatches the worst articles on her table with the best relish; rises at the crowing of the cock; and washes his face at the pump instead of disarranging her ewer and basin which are kept for show.

A sailor's gentleman is a bit of a tar. He is a man who can box the compass; knot, splice, hand, reef, steer; who can run aloft with the nimbleness of a cat, and keep his footing on a rope, as fearless as a spider on his web. Who recks little whether he sleeps in his hammock, on the round top, or at the bottom of the ocean; who fears neither storms, nor billows, nor a hostile sail; who cares not a groat for money; whose hand is ever open at the cry of distress; who loves his wife next to his ship; cannot abide a fellow, who comes in at the cabin window; hates meanness, and despises a land lubber.

In the opinion of some, no man is a gentleman who is not rich, and his gentility is accounted in exact proportion, to the number, quality, and value of his houses, lands and stocks.

In the estimation of others, no man can be a gentlemen who does not keep a carriage, live in splendor, and make a good deal of show.

But it would be endless to enumerate the different opinions, which go to make up a gentleman. And we may as well conclude at once, by saying, that with us he is a GENTLEMAN, in large capitals, who subscribes for THIS PAPER, and pays in advance.

N. Y. Constellation.

FORT TOWSON, on Red River, Arkansas Ter.
JANUARY 14th 1833

Remarkable facts in relation to shooting Deer.

Mr. Editor,—A very remarkable circumstance in relation to the Deer, which I think worth communicating, was told me lately, by an old border hunter of veracity—one who had been in the habit, for years, of wielding his formidable rifle on the head waters of Big Red. In that section of country the Indians subsist almost entirely on Buffaloe meat,—owing to its superior sweetness and flavor, its great abundance, and the facility of procuring it. The Deer, in consequence, are altogether unmolested, and may be seen browzing quietly in their rich, woody pastures, free from all apprehension of danger, and, although they flee instinctively at the sight of man, they are but little alarmed at the sound of a rifle.

The hunter, peering through the wood in his still, noiseless way, discovered at a distance, 12 of these beautiful animals, feeding together in conscious security. By a soft step and the intervention of a tree, he approached within good rifle shot, selected his mark, and (in his own words,) "drew bead, let slip, and drapt him." The other Deer startled, raised their heads quickly in the direction of the sharp piercing sound—fixed their eyes intently, for an instant, on the spot where the hunter stood statue-like—and then went quietly to feeding again, unconscious that one had fallen in the midst of them. The rifle was re-loaded—another deer bit the dust: his companions expressed even less alarm than before. The hunter repeated his operations, until the whole twelve lay prostrate before his unerring aim.

J. A.

[*Query.*—Would Deer, which had never before heard the sound of a gun, or seen a human being either savage or civil, fly at the approach of a man?

Am. Turf Register.

Sun and air.—A pert young lady was walking one morning on the Stoyne at Brighton, when she encountered the celebrated Wilkes: "You see," observed the lady, "I am come out for a little *sun* and *air*." "You had better madam, get a little husband first."

A genteel looking fellow bargained with a London shop keeper for as much lace as would reach from one of his ears to the other, for a mere trifle—the fellow put down the money, saying, 'one year is here—the other is nailed to the pillory in Bristol. I fear you have not so much by you, therefore I will take what you have on the counter, and trust that the rest will be provided with all possible expedition.'

THE MOTHER IN SICKNESS.

There is something in sickness that breaks down the pride of manhood; that softens the heart, and brings it back to the feelings of infancy. Who that has languished even in advanced life, in sickness and despondency; who that has pined on a weary bed, in the neglect and loneliness of a foreign land, but that has thought on the mother "that looked on his childhood," that smoothed his pillow and administered to his helplessness. Oh! there is an endearing tenderness in the love of a mother to a son, that transcends all other affections of the heart. It is neither to be chilled by selfishness, nor daunted by danger, nor weakened by worthlessness, nor stifled by ingratitude. She will sacrifice every comfort to his convenience; she will glory in his fame, and exult in his prosperity; and if misfortunes overtake him, he will be the dearer to her from his misfortunes; and if disgrace settle upon his name, she will still love and cherish him in spite of disgrace; and if all the world besides cast him off, she will be all the world to him.

The wonderful advantages of Drunkenness.

If you are determined to be poor, *be a drunkard;* and you will soon be ragged and pennyless.

If you wish to starve your family, be a drunkard; for that will consume the means of their support.

If you would be imposed upon by knaves, be a drunkard; for that will make their task easy.

If you would become a fool, be a drunkard; and you will soon loose your understanding.

If you are determined to expel all comfort from your house, be a drunkard; and you will do it effectually.

If you would expose both your folly and secrets, be a drunkard; and they will soon run out as the liquor runs in.

If you think you are too strong, be a drunkard; and you will soon be subdued by so powerful an enemy.

If you would get rid of your money without knowing how, be a drunkard; and it will vanish insensibly.

If you would be a dead weight on the community, and "cumber the ground," be a drunkard; for that will render you useless, helpless, burthensome, and expensive.

If you would be a drunkard; for the approach of a drunkard is like that of a dunghill.

If you would be hated by your family and friends, be a drunkard; and you will soon be more than disagreeable.

Finally, if you are determined to be utterly destroyed, in estate, body and soul, *be a drunkard;* and you will soon know that it is impossible to adopt a more effectual means to accomplish your END.

A gentleman, with his wife and some children being on a travel recently, stopped at a tavern, not more than a hundred miles from the north part of Plymouth, and desired that a dinner might be prepared for the party. 'What will you have?' inquired the hostess. 'Why, a roast goose, with accompaniments,' said the traveller, 'would not be amiss.' 'We have no such delicacy,' said mine hostess, 'but if your honor could take up with poor folk's fare.'—'Well any thing,' said the gentleman, 'have you venison, beef, veal, mutton or bacon?' 'No we have nothing of that sort.'—'Well, what *have* you got, for mercy's sake tell me; I'm almost starved.' Well, replied the lady, I don't know as we have any thing in the house just now—but if your honor could wait—we are going to bake tomorrow!'

YANKEE SALUTATION AND REPLY.

In a neighboring town, in our county of Essex, where the parish parson is reverenced as a 'right down *steady* man, the following salutation and reply is quite common: "Good morning neighbor A——, howd'ye do to day?" "Well, I'm *much at one*, I thank you—how is't with you?"—Why, I'm pretty much *arter the old sort*—*'tween three and one*—how's your woman his morning?" "Well, she's *pretty much what for her* consid'rin—how's yourn?" "*So's to be crawling*, I thank you—good morning."

Salem Observer.

"*Sure enough.*"—We were pleased with the common sense manifested by an unfortunate son of Erin, who was being tried before Justice Whiteman the other day. "Are you guilty or not guilty?" said the clerk. "And what the devil are you put there for but to find out?" replied Pat.

Paul Pry.

A. M. SCOTT, Governor of the State of Mississippi, died of Cholera, at Jackson, Mississippi, on the 12th ultimo.

NEW CHEAP
SPRING & SUMMER
GOODS.

THE firm of HACKETT & LESLEY having been dissolved, the business in future will be conducted by

S. LESLEY & SON,

Who are receiving direct from

New-York & Philadelphia,

A COMPLETE ASSORTMENT OF

Spring and Summer
GOODS,

Of the latest importations, consisting of

Dry-Goods, & Groceries,
Hats, Bonnets & Shoes,
Hard-Ware, Cutlery, and
PLATED WARE,
Saddlery, Crockery, &c. &c.

—*ALSO*—

A GENERAL ASSORTMENT OF

Carpenter's, Cabinet-Maker's, and
Blacksmith's Tools.

LIKEWISE, A GOOD SUPPLY OF

Greek, Latin and English
SCHOOL BOOKS,

And all other articles usually kept in retail Stores, which they intend selling at small profits for cash, or on a short credit to punctual dealers.

They respectfully invite their friends, and the public generally, to call and examine the assortment for themselves.

Cotton, Corn, Oats, Flaxseed, Beeswax, Tallow, and almost every description of country produce will be taken at fair prices, in exchange for goods.

Salisbury, N. C. 1st May, 1833. 74tf

NEW CHEAP
Spring & Summer
GOODS.

GEO. W. BROWN,

IS now receiving from New York & Philadelphia, a large and extensive assortment of fresh and Fashionable

GOODS,

Selected with great care and bought at the lowest cash prices; all of which, he is determined to sell at a very small profit for CASH, or on time to punctual dealers. His stock consists of every variety usually found in Stores in this section of country viz:

DRY GOODS,
Hardware, Groceries, Crockery,
Saddlery, Hats, Shoes,
Bonnets, &c. &c.

Persons wishing to purchase, will do well to call and examine his Stock; for he thinks from the lowness of his prices to induce purchasers to buy. The usual kinds of produce taken in payment. 14tf

Salisbury, May 1, 1833.

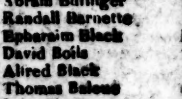
A LIST OF LETTERS

REMAINING in the Post Office in Lincolnton, on the 1st day of July, 1833.

Drury Arrowood	Abram Mauney
Osborn J Burnit	Spious Murphy
Abram Bulinger	Elisabeth Murry
Randall Barnette	William Morrison
Ephraim Black	Robert McCall
David Boils	The Representatives of
Alfred Black	Thomas Murray, dec.
Thomas Baleau	George Meets
Isaac Boner	Jacob Null
Andrew Barringer	Jacob Plunck
Robert W. Bell	Jacob Reinhardt
William Cline	Philip Rudasill
Robert Childress	Jacob Rath or Reed
Francis Carpenter	William Roderick
George W. Carvill	William Rankin
John Coulter	James Rup
Thomas Carpenter	Henry Rhodes
Luke S Davis	William Slade
Adam Dellinger 2	Nancy H. Smith
C. O. Green	Schenck & Ramsour
William Grissom	Noah Sullivan
Mary H. H Goodwyn	Joel Stowe
George W. Huggins	Samuel Swearingim
Jacob Hasse	Jeremiah Smith
Elias H. Hooper	E. M. Sparrow
Christopher Hope	John Smyer
Daniel Huffman	William Summey
Lewis Huit	Samuel Sullivin
Lawson Henderson	Andam S. Springs
William G Hendrick	John Smith
William Harralson	David Smith
John Hoyle	William A. Tisdale
John Huggins	James Taylor
Hugh L. Henderson	David Wilfong or
Daniel Hoke, jr.	Wm. Sandy
David Isahour	Martha Williams
William R. Johnson 2	Isaac Wills
Joseph Icenhower	Charles Williams
Abram Keistler	Maxwell Warlick
Henry Lowery	P. M. Winterswille
John Lefever or 2	George Wacaster
J. Lefever 5	John Wise 2
Richard Lyan	John White
Thomas Lowery	Lemuel Watts
Jesse Mayberry	Lyman Woodford.
Daniel McMeins	

C. C. HENDERSON, *P. M.*

CHARLESTON and CHERAW,
THE STEAM BOAT MACON



CAPT. J. C. GRAHAM having been engaged last summer, in running between Charleston and Cheraw calling at Geo. Town on her way up and down, will resume her Trips in the course of a few days and is intended to be continued in the trade the ensuing season.

Her exceeding light draft of Water drawing when loaded only about four and a half feet water will enable her to reach Cheraw at all times except, an uncommon low river, when her cargo will be lightened at the Expence of Boat.

J. B. CLOGH.

Charleston Sept 26, 1831.

N. B. She has comfortable accomodations for a few passengers. 92tf
J. B. C.

JOB PRINTING
EXECUTED WITH NEATNESS And DISPATCH,
AT THIS OFFICE.

NOTICE.
E. DICKSON

HAS just received the whole of his new stock consisting of all kinds of shoes for Ladies, & of every description of Boots, Shoes and Pumps for gentlemen;—which he warrants to be made of the best materials, in a substantial and fashionable manner, and which he will sell low for CASH, or to punctual customers, on a short credit.

Salisbury, June 20, 1833. 81tf

NOTICE.

THE Certificate for thirteen shares of the Capital or Joint Stock of the State Bank of North Carolina, issued in the name of Francis Locke, (late of Rowan County N. C.) dec'd. being lost or mislaid,

NOTICE

is hereby given to all persons concerned, that I shall apply to the President of said Bank, either in person or by agent to issue a duplicate thereof. 13-91.

JOHN SCOTT, Ex'r.

Salisbury, May 28. 1833.

NOTICE.

I AM anxious to close my business in the County of Rowan, and a duty I owe to my DEBTORS, induces me to give this PUBLIC NOTICE, that all notes, accounts, and demands whatsoever must be settled forthwith, or, I shall be under the disagreeable necessity of putting them in a course of collection where COSTS will be incurred.

I will attend at Mocksville every law day for the purpose of effecting this object.

ROBERT HARGRAVE.

May 24th, 1833. 77tf

NEW BINDERY.

WITH a view to the more efficient prosecution of their business, the Subscribers have established a

BOOK-BINDERY.

Having procured the best Materials from the North, and employed a Workman who comes well recommended, they are prepared to execute on moderate terms, all orders in this line.

Account Books, Records, &c. ruled and made to order: and every kind of Binding promptly executed in the best and neatest manner, on reasonable terms.

36tf J. GALES & SON.

Raleigh Gaz

Treasury Department
April 12th 1833

IN the late conflagration of the Treasury building, nearly all the correspondence of the Secretary of the Treasury, from the establishment of the Department to the 31st March 1833, was destroyed, including, as well the original letters and communications addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury, as the records of the letters and communications written by him. With a view to repair the loss, as far as may be practicable, all officers of the United States are requested to cause copies to be prepared; and authenticated by them, of any letters (excepting those hereinafter alluded to,) which they may at any time have written to, or received from the Secretary of the Treasury; and all those who have been in office, and other individuals throughout the United States, and elsewhere, are invited to do the same. That this correspondence may be arranged into appropriate books, it is requested that it be copied on folio foolscap paper, with a sufficient margin on all sides to admit of binding, and that no more than one letter be contained on a leaf. It is also requested, that the copies be written in a plain and distinct or engrossing hand. Where the original can be spared, it would be preferred. The reasonable expense incurred in copying the papers now requested, not exceeding the rate of ten cents for every hundred words will be defrayed by the Department.

The correspondence which has been saved, and of which therefore, no copies are desired, are the records of the letters written by the Secretary of the Treasury to Presidents and Cashiers of Banks, from the 1st October, 1819, to the 20th February 1833; all the correspondence relating to the revolutionary claims under the act of 15th May, 1828, and to claims of Virginia officers to half pay, under the act of 5th July 1832, and to applications for the benefits of the acts of the 2nd March, 1831, and 14th July, 1832, for the relief of certain insolvent debtors of the United States. Copies of some circular letters and instructions, written by the Secretary, have also been preserved: and it is requested that, before any copy be made of any *circular*, letter or instruction, written by the Secretary of the Treasury, the date and object of the circular be first stated to the Department, and its wishes on the subject ascertained.

LOUIS McLANE.

74—3m *Secretary of the Treasury.*

Blank Deeds,

OF every description, neatly Printed, and kept constantly for sale at this office